

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

SAM-01 DRC-01 /152 W

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R 031040Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0033

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 05483

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDITIONAL INFO ADDEE SALT TWO)

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

GENEVA FOR SALT DEL

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR - REVIEW OF BRITISH THINKING

1. DEAN (US DEPREP MBFR) AND EMBASSY OFFICER PAID
INFORMAL CALL MAY 2 ON TICKELL FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF
MBFR QUESTIONS. WE WERE JOINED BY ROSE (UK MBFR REP)
AND MCLAREN (DEPUTY HEAD NATO DEPT, FCO). DEAN GAVE THE
BRITISH A GENERAL VIEW OF USDEL THINKING.

2. TICKELL NOTED THAT THE NEW BRITISH MINISTERS IN FCO
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HAD BEEN FOCUSING THEIR ATTENTION ON EUROPE AND CSCE AND

HAD NOT YET GOT A GRIP ON MBFR. BEFORE GOING TO WASHINGTON IN MARCH FOR THE TRILATERALS, TICKELL HAD SEEN A MINISTER (PRESUMABLY HATTERSLEY) AND SPELLED OUT THE LINE HE AND BRITISH OFFICIALS WOULD TAKE IN WASHINGTON. THEY HAD NOT GOT EXPLICIT MINISTERIAL APPROVAL FOR THE LINE BUT MINISTERS KNEW AT LEAST HOW THEY HAD INTENDED TO PROCEED. FCO OFFICIALS SAID THAT THEY NOW HAVE A GENERAL BRIEF FROM MINISTERS TO PROCEED ALONG THE SAME LINES AS PREVIOUSLY BUT NO EXPLICIT GUIDANCE HAD YET BEEN GIVEN. TICKELL COMMENTED THAT THE LABOR GOVERNMENT TENDS TO REGARD MBFR IN SLIGHTLY MORE IDEALISTIC TERMS THAN THE PREVIOUS CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, AND SEEM SOMEWHAT KEENER ON MBFR. IT WAS TICKELL'S PERSONAL OPINION THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MAJOR CHANGE IN HMG'S POLICY TOWARD MBFR. HOWEVER, THERE MIGHT BE SOME SHIFT OF EMPHASIS, E.G., IN READINESS TO INCLUDE BRITISH FORCES IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS. TICKELL SAID THAT HE WOULD SEEK SPECIFIC MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT WITHIN A WEEK OR TWO IN CONNECTION WITH THE ISSUE OF "INCLUSION OF ALL FORCES." IN THIS REGARD TICKELL OBSERVED THAT THE ISSUE OF WHETHER OR NOT TO INCLUDE BRITISH FORCES IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS WAS RELEVANT TO CURRENT UK DEFENSE REVIEW; IF DECISION WERE MADE TO INCLUDE THEM IT WOULD BE USEFUL DEVICE TO DAMPEN DOMESTIC PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL CUTS.

3. TICKELL REFERRED TO HIS CONVERSATION OF APRIL 29 WITH SLOSS (LONDON 5270) REGARDING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE US, UK AND FRG ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS. HE SAID THAT IF THERE SHOULD BE MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET POSITION ON MBFR, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIANCE TO CLARIFY THE NUCLEAR ISSUES AMONG THEMSELVES QUICKLY. IN THE PAPER THE BRITISH HAD PREPARED FOUR MAIN PROBLEMS WERE ISOLATED, I.E., RECIPROCITY, PHASING, DUAL CAPABLE AIRCRAFT, AND ALLIED TACTICS. THE PAPER HAD DISCUSSED THE PROS AND CONS OF VARIOUS WAYS TO HANDLE THESE ISSUES. ON APRIL 30, THE PAPER HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THE GERMANS WHO THOUGHT THAT ITS BALANCE WAS SATISFACTORY, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD SOME SPECIFIC COMMENTS WHICH TICKELL DID NOT SPELL OUT FOR US. THE BRITISH ARE NOW

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RE-DRAFTING THEIR PAPER TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE GERMAN VIEWS. WHEN THE DRAFTING HAS BEEN COMPLETED IN ABOUT TEN DAYS, THEY WILL GIVE IT TO US FOR OUR REACTION. TICKELL SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT PUT THE MATTER TO MINISTERS UNTIL US AND GERMAN VIEWS HAD BEEN WHOLLY ABSORBED. AT THAT POINT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO CONSIDER HOW WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD, AND HE WONDERED WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE WORTHWHILE TO HAVE ANOTHER

TRILATERAL MEETING. HE FULLY APPRECIATED THE DIFFICULTIES WITH OTHER ALLIES THAT ANOTHER TRILATERAL MIGHT CREATE, AND SUGGESTED THAT OFFICIALS OF THE THREE COUNTRIES MIGHT QUIETLY MEET ON THE MARGINS OF THE NAC MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA. ALTERNATIVELY, HE SUGGESTED THAT THERE MIGHT BE SEVERAL BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS OF THE PROBLEM, BUT CLEARLY SEEMED TO PREFER A DISCREET TRILATERAL.

4. WHILE CONCEDING THAT MBFR CURRENTLY HAS A LOWER PRIORITY FOR THE WEST AMONG EAST-WEST ISSUES, TICKELL SAID THAT HE THOUGHT MBFR COULD BECOME MORE URGENT BY

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JUNE IF THERE WERE A DEADLOCK IN SALT AND IF CSCE HAD

BEEN VIRTUALLY COMPLETED. FOR THE TIME BEING, HOWEVER, ROSE'S GUIDANCE FOR THE NEXT SESSION IN VIENNA WOULD BE TO CONTINUE TO PROBE THE WARSAW PACT POSITION AND GENERALLY FOLLOW THE SAME LINE AS PREVIOUSLY. (AS DESCRIBED TO US, BRITISH POSITION SEEMS IN TUNE WITH GUIDANCE FOR USDEL, STATE 90116) THE BRITISH DO NOT EXPECT DRAMATIC INITIATIVES FROM THE WARSAW PACT. IF, HOWEVER, SOVIET DELEGATES RETURN WITH NEW INSTRUCTIONS, IT WOULD OF COURSE BE NECESSARY TO RE-THINK WESTERN TACTICS.

5. IN THE NEXT SESSION TICKELL THOUGHT THAT IT MIGHT BE A GOOD IDEA TO PRESS THE SOVIETS FOR DETAILS ON THEIR DRAFT TREATY EVEN IF THIS ENTAILED SOME RISK. INDICATING
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THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, TICKELL WONDERED WHETHER WE COULD NOT ASK THEM WHAT THEY MEAN WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE CONTINUED THAT HE THOUGHT THE WEST NEEDED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE SOVIET POSITION. HE SAID THAT HE WAS PRESSED FREQUENTLY BY MINISTERS AND OTHERS TO EXPLAIN EXACTLY WHAT THE SOVIET POSITION MEANS. ROSE POINTED OUT THAT IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE PREPARED TO GIVE US ANSWERS, AND HE COULD SEE THAT PRESSING THE SOVIETS ON SUCH DETAILS COULD COMPLICATE THE WEST'S ATTEMPT TO FOCUS ON WHOSE FORCES WOULD BE REDUCED FIRST, AND THUS DEFLECT THE SOVIETS FROM CONCENTRATING ON THIS POINT. TICKELL NEVERTHELESS RETURNED TO THE POINT, SAYING THAT IT LOOKS STRANGE IF WE ARE UNABLE TO SAY WE DO NOT KNOW PRECISELY WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IN MIND. FURTHER, IF, AS APPEARS POSSIBLE, THE SOVIET TACTICAL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY IS GREATER THAN WE HAD THOUGHT, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO TRY TO GET FROM THEM A CLEAR INDICATION OF WHAT THEY HAVE IN MIND BY THE INCLUSION OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

6. THERE WAS ALSO A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF TACTICS FOR PRESENTATION OF THE WESTERN VIEW IN THE NEXT SESSION AT VIENNA.

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